

The Downing of Flight 7: White House Avoids Flamboyance

Reagan Avoids Dramatic in Response to Shooting

By BERNARD GERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Sept. 5 — On the recommendation of his key advisers, President Reagan decided not to impose any new, dramatic sanctions against the Soviet Union for the downing of the Korean airliner.

He agreed not to do so, his aides said tonight, because it would be too damaging to the Administration's efforts to suspend the arms control negotiations or halting the trade in grain and nonstrategic goods.

Several conservative organizations and public figures had urged the President to use the outrage generated by the airliner incident to sever relations effectively with Moscow. He was advised by the publication Conservative Digest, for instance, to halt the arms control talks, end all trade, and cut diplomatic relations to a bare minimum. After the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981, Mr. Reagan did, in fact, impose a number of sharp sanctions. But the consensus of his advisers this time was that it was not wise for Mr. Reagan to appear measured and restrained, both for foreign and domestic

considerations, officials said privately. Mr. Reagan's decision to limit his actions primarily to the international aviation field is consistent with his aides' to cause sharp criticism within conservative circles and unusual praise from liberals.

As a result, there was some uneasiness evident at the White House tonight in the briefing for reporters. Senior officials stressed that the President showed by Mr. Reagan did not mean any softening in the Administration's attitude toward the Russians.

The shooting down of the Korean airliner was "horrific," one high official said, "and so is Afghanistan, Poland and Yellow Rain." A realistic assessment of the Soviet's must recognize that the shooting down of Flight 007 is not out of keeping with past Soviet performance.

The best way to change Soviet behavior, the official said, in defending the decision not to cut trade or to suspend arms control negotiations "is through economic, military and alliance strength."

Strengthening of Alliance
While he had in mind what the grain trade and sale of such items as tractor pipelines, opposed by some conservatives, improves the American economy and thus, the strength of the alliance.

Likewise, by going ahead with the arms control talks, Mr. Reagan makes it easier for Western allies to continue to agree to the deployment of new American missiles in Europe beginning this year.

"If we had halted the Geneva talks on missiles," one State Department official said, "a lot of Europeans would be saying that Reagan is a warmonger and there would be new demonstrations against us, and the Flight 007 would have been a disaster."

Mr. Reagan, in fact, sought to use the incident in his speech to increase sup-

port for his MX program, which faces a difficult fight in Congress. He has been advised that unless members of Congress are convinced that he is negotiating seriously for a new strategic arms reduction treaty, the MX might be dealt a setback. That is why Mr. Reagan limited the Soviet "aggression" in his speech with a new appeal for passage of the MX and why he stressed that the United States would continue to negotiate for a new strategic arms accord, his aides said.

The shooting down did not change our estimate or approach to the Soviet Union," another senior Administration official said. "Rather, it confirms it. It is a terrible act. But it is not dealt with in a way that increases the chances it won't happen again."

Some Fear Among Officials
Nevertheless, the calculated decision to be restrained in action, some of the White House officials who feared that Mr. Reagan might be castigated as giving up his well-known abhorrence of the Soviet Union. Even as recently as last Friday, before he had had a chance to meet with his top advisers, Mr. Reagan appeared to be weighing out the possibility of much more severe sanctions.

"What can be the scope of legitimate mutual discourse with a state whose values permit such atrocities?" Mr. Reagan asked in remarks he made in California before flying back to Washington for a series of weekend meetings.

But once here, Mr. Reagan was told by Secretary of State George P. Shultz that whatever the United States did, it had to avoid turning the Korean Airlines incident into a strictly Soviet-American issue. The United States could serve as a catalyst in persuading other countries to halt air service to the Soviet Union, as Canada did today. And given its intelligence-gathering ability, could serve as a kind of international

prosecutor before the United Nations Security Council.

"We should not do something that will get the headlines for a day or two and then spend the next six months trying to undo," Mr. Shultz urged in private, his aides said. In other words, Mr. Shultz, who has publicly said that he believes trade sanctions are a poor way of achieving diplomatic ends, saw no point in causing new rifts in the alliance, or arguments with farmers and businessmen by imposing new sanctions that had nothing to do specifically with the Korean airliner.

Some Initiatives Dropped
Nevertheless, the State Department did agree to shelve some initiatives it had undertaken with the Soviet Union a few months ago to undo some of the sanctions imposed by President Jimmy Carter after the Soviet military moves into Afghanistan. Mr. Carter had suspended a new cultural and scientific exchange agreement and stopped plans to set up consulates in Kiev and New York.

The United States traditionally felt it gained more by making inroads into the closed Soviet society by such exchanges and consulates than the Soviet Union did, but they had a symbolism associated with good relations that led to their suspension.

Mr. Shultz, arguing that the accords were in American interests, had agreed to resume them. The Russians had agreed and talks were to start in a month or so. The President announced tonight that they were again suspended, as was a tentative decision to renew a minor accord on exchanges in the transportation field.

A senior State Department official, however, said privately that he thought these exchanges would be resumed once passions cooled over the airliner because they remained in American interest to keep contacts with the Soviet Union at all levels.



William Oldham, left, a New York City police officer, and his sister, Charlotte, right, arriving in Wakkana, Japan, from which searches for the downed Korean Air Lines jet are being conducted. Their brother John was a passenger on the plane reportedly shot down Thursday by Soviet fighters.

Libertarian Party Nominates Vice-Presidential Candidate

The Libertarian Party nominated James A. Lewis of Connecticut Sunday as its Vice-Presidential candidate after three rounds of voting and a final voice vote.

Mr. Lewis will join David P. Bergland of California, the party's Presidential candidate, on the ticket for next year's elections. Mr. Bergland was nominated Saturday after a daylong session of four ballots.

Transcript of President Reagan's Address on Downing of Korean Airliner

Following is a transcript of President Reagan's speech in Washington last night, as recorded by The New York Times:

My fellow Americans, I'm coming before you tonight about the Korean Air Lines massacre — the attack by the Soviet Union against 269 innocent men, women and children aboard an unarmed Korean passenger plane. This crime against humanity must never be forgotten, here or throughout the world.

Our prayers tonight are with the victims and their families in their time of terrible grief. Our hearts go out to the bereaved people — to Catherine McDonald, the wife of a Congressman whose compass and sextant on the day of her husband's death moved us all. He will be sorely missed by all of us here in government. The parents of one slain couple — to their daughter and her husband who died on Korean Air Line Flight 7; their deaths were the result of the Soviet Union's violation of every concept of human rights. The emotions of these parents' grief, shock, anger, are shared by civilized people everywhere.

From around the world, press accounts reflect an explosion of condemnation by people everywhere. Let me state as plainly as I can: There was absolutely no justification, either legal or moral, for what the Soviet Union did.

One newspaper in India said if every passenger plane is fair game for Soviet air forces, it will be the end to civil aviation as we know it.

Not the First Time
This is not the first time the Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflies its territory. In another tragic incident in 1978, the Soviets also shot down an unarmed civilian airliner after having positively identified it as such. In that instance, the Soviet interceptor pilot clearly identified the civilian markings on the side of the aircraft, repeatedly questioned the order to fire on a civilian airliner and was ordered to shoot it down anyway.

The aircraft was hit with a missile and made a crash landing. Several innocent people lost their lives in this attack, killed by shrapnel from the blast of a Soviet missile. Is this a practice of other countries in the world? The answer is no. Commercial aircraft from the Soviet Union and Cuba on a number of occasions have flown over sensitive United States military facilities. They weren't shot down. We and other civilized countries believe in the tradition of offering help to airlines and pilots who are lost or in distress on the sea or in the air. We believe in following procedures to prevent a tragedy, not to provoke one.

The Soviet Reaction
But despite the savagery of their crime, the universal reaction against it and the evidence of their complicity, the Soviets still refuse to tell the truth. They have persistently refused to admit that their pilot fired on the Korean airliner. Indeed, they've even told their own people that a plane was shot down. They have spun a confused tale of tracking the plane by radar until it just mysteriously disappeared from their radar screens, that no one fired a shot of any kind.

But then they coupled this with charges that it was a spy plane sent by us and that their planes fired tracer bullets passed the plane as a warning that it was in Soviet airspace. Let me recap for a moment and correct the inaccurate evidence that we have: The Korean airliner, a Boeing 747, left Anchorage, Alaska, bound for Seoul, Korea, on course south and west, which would take it across Japan.

Out over the Pacific in interna-

tional waters it was for a brief time in the vicinity of one of our reconnaissance planes, an RC-135 on a routine mission.

The Airliner's Course
At no time was the RC-135 in Soviet airspace. The Korean airliner flew over the two planes were soon widely separated. Our aircraft was equipped with the most modern computerized navigation facilities, but a computer must respond to input provided by human beings. No one will ever know whether a mistake was made in giving the computer the course or whether there was a straight-line course at 30,000-35,000 feet. Only civilian airliners fly in such a manner. At one point the Korean pilot gave Japan a false position as east of Hokkaido, Japan, showing that he was unaware of their course by as much or more than a hundred miles.

The Soviets tracked this plane for two and a half hours while it flew a straight-line course at 30,000-35,000 feet. Only civilian airliners fly in such a manner. At one point the Korean pilot gave Japan a false position as east of Hokkaido, Japan, showing that he was unaware of their course by as much or more than a hundred miles.

The Soviets scrambled jet interceptors from a base on Sakhalin Island, Japanese ground sites recorded the interceptor plane's radio transmissions — their conversations with their own ground control. We only have the voices from the pilots. The Soviet ground-to-air transmissions were not recorded. It's plain, however, from the pilot's words that he was responding to orders and queries from his own ground control.

Here's a brief segment of the tape, which we're going to play in its entirety for the United Nations Security Council tomorrow.

(President Reagan plays the tape recording of Russian pilots.)

Those were the voices of the Soviet pilots. In this tape, they fired the missile describes his search for what he calls the target.

He reports he has it in sight. Indeed, he pulls up to within about five miles of the Korean plane, mentions its flashing strobe light and that its navigation lights are on.

Then he reports he's reducing speed to get behind the airliner, gives his distance from the plane at various points in this maneuver, and finally announces what can only be called the Korean Air Line massacre.

Korays he has locked on the radar which aims his missiles; the target has been destroyed, and he is breaking off the attack.

Let me point out something here having to do with his close-up view of the Korean plane. What we know was a clear night with a half moon. The 747 has a unique and distinctive silhouette, unlike any other plane in the world.

There is no way a pilot could mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner.

And if that isn't enough, let me point out our RC-135 that I mentioned earlier had been back at its base in Alaska, on the ground for an hour when the murderous attack took place over the Sea of Japan.

Moral Precepts
And make no mistake about this: This attack was not just against ourselves or the Republic of Korea. This was the Soviet Union against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere.

It was an act of barbarism borne of a society which wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life and seeks constantly to expand its domination over other nations.

They deny the deed, but in their conflicting and misleading protestations, the Soviets reveal their true nature. They are using the lives of hundreds of innocent men, women, children and babies, is a part of their gross profanity if this plane is in what they claim as their airspace. They owe the world an apology, and an offer to join the rest of the world in working out a system to protect against this ever happening again.

Among the rest of us there is one protective measure — an international radio wavelength on which pilots can communicate with planes of other nations if they are in trouble. Soviet military planes are not so equipped because that would make it easier for pilots who might want to the pilot's words that he was responding to orders and queries from his own ground control.

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unity in the room, and I received a number of constructive suggestions. We will continue to work with the Congress regarding our response to this massacre.

As you know we immediately made plans to the world the shocking facts as honestly and completely as they came to us. We have notified the Soviet Union of our concerns and our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field transportation so long as they threaten the security of civil aviation.

Since 1981 the Soviet Airline Aeroflot has been denied the right to fly to the United States. We have reaffirmed that Aeroflot and are not an additional steps we can take with regard to Aeroflot facilities in this country.

We are cooperating with other countries to find better means to insure the safety of civil aviation and to join us in not accepting Aeroflot as a normal member of the international civil air community unless and until the Soviet Union satisfies the cries of humanity for justice.

Canadian Action
I am pleased to report that Canada today suspended Aeroflot's landing and refueling privileges for 90 days. We have joined with other countries to press the international civil aviation organization to investigate this crime at an urgent special session of the Council. At the same time we're listening most carefully to private groups, airlines, passenger associations and others who have a special interest in civil air safety.

I am asking the Congress to pass a joint resolution of condemnation of this Soviet crime. We have informed the Soviets that we're suspending our negotiations on several bilateral arrangements we had under consideration.

Along with Korea and Japan, we called an emergency meeting of the U.N. Security Council, which began on Friday. On that first day Korea, Japan, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, France, China, the United Kingdom, Zaire, New Zealand and West Germany all joined us in denouncing the Soviet action and expressing our horror.

We expect to hear from additional countries as debate resumes tomorrow. We intend to work with the 13 countries who had citizens aboard the Korean airliner to seek reparations for the families of all those who were killed.

Claims Against Soviet
The United States will be making a claim against the Soviet Union within the next week to obtain compensation for the benefit of the victims' survivors.

Such compensation is of absolute moral duty which the Soviets must assume. In the economic area in general, we're rebuilding our efforts with our allies to end the flow of military and strategic items to the Soviet Union.

Secretary Shultz is going to Madrid to meet with representatives of 33 countries who for three years have been negotiating an agreement having to do with, among other things, human rights.

Foreign Minister Gromyko of the Soviet Union is scheduled to attend that meeting. If he does come to the meeting, Secretary Shultz is going to present him with our demands for disclosure of the facts, corrective action and concrete assurances that such a thing will not happen again — and that restitution be made.

As we work with other countries to see that justice is done, the real test of our resolve is whether we have the will to remain strong, steady and united.

I believe more than ever, as evidenced by your thousands and thousands of wires and phone calls in these last few days, that we do.

I have outlined some of the steps we're taking in response to the tragic massacre. We will continue to work with the Congress regarding our response to this massacre.

There's something I've always believed in which now seems more important than ever.

The Congress will be facing key national security issues when it returns from recess.

Difference of Opinion
There has been legitimate difference of opinion on this matter. I know, but I urge the members of that distinguished body to ponder long and hard the Soviet aggression as they consider the security and safety of our people — indeed of all people who believe in freedom.

Senator Henry Jackson, a wise and revered statesman, and one who probably understood the Soviet Union as well as any American in history, warned us: The greatest threat the United States now faces is posed by the Soviet Union. But Senator Jackson said if American maintains a strong deterrent and only if it does, this nation will continue to be a leader in the crucial quest for enduring peace among nations. The late Senator made those statements in July on the Senate floor, speaking in behalf of the MX missile program he considered vital to restore America's strategic parity with the Soviets.

When John F. Kennedy was President, defense spending as a share of the Federal budget was 70 percent greater than it is today. Since then the Soviet Union has carried on the most massive military buildup the world has ever seen. They are willing to join the rest of the world community, we must maintain the strength to deter their aggression. But while we do so, we must not give up our effort

to bring them into the world community of nations. Peace through strength as long as necessary, but never giving up our effort to bring peace closer through mutual verifiable reduction in the weapons of war.

Arms Negotiations
I've told you of negotiations we've suspended as a result of the Korean Air Lines massacre, but we can not, we must not, give up our effort to reduce the arsenals of destructive weapons threatening the world.

Ambassador Nitzze has returned to Geneva to resume the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Equally, we will continue to press for arms reductions in the START talks that resume in October.

We are more determined than ever to produce, and if possible eliminate, the threat hanging over mankind. We know it will be hard to make a nation that rules its own people through force to cease using force against the rest of the world, but we must try. This is not a role we sought. We have faith in Abraham Lincoln's words that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end to do our duty as we understand it. If we do, if we stand together and move forward with courage, then history will record that some good did come of this monstrous wrong that we will carry with us and remember the rest of our lives.

Thank you, God bless you and good night.

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Transcript of Pilot Tapes

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5 (AP) — Following is a transcript, as translated from the Russian and distributed by the White House tonight, of excerpts from the radio transmissions of two Soviet pilots who were described as having participated in the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 7 last week. All times are Greenwich Mean Time.

1813:34 — SU-15 fighter to Deputy: Soviet ground station call sign. "The A.S.O. (air navigation lights) are burning. The strobe light is flashing."

1813:36 — MIG-33 fighter to Deputy: "Roger, I'm at 7500, course 230."

1817:01 — SU-15 fighter to Deputy: "I am closing on the target."

1826:30 — SU-15 fighter to Deputy: "I have executed the launch."

1826:22 — SU-15 fighter to Deputy: "The target is destroyed."

1828:27 — SU-15 fighter to Deputy: "I am breaking off attack."